

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
DHA-02 TRSE-00 /079 W  
-----041539 021019Z /10

O 020950Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8271

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 3815

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, US, SF, WA

SUBJECT: WESTERN FIVE MEETINGS WITH FONMIN BOTHA AND  
PM VORSTER

REF: PRETORIA 3807

THE FIVE MET THIS MORNING TO PREPARE THEIR COMMENTS ON  
YESTERDAY'S MEETINGS WITH FONMIN BOTHA AND PM VORSTER. THE  
AGREED JOINT STATEMENT READS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

1. THE MAIN POINT TO WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICANS KEPT REVERTING  
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WAS THAT THEY HAD MADE TREMENDOUS CONCESSIONS IN THE CAPE TOWN  
TALKS BY ABANDONING THE TURNHALLE CONCEPT. THIS HAD CREATED  
GREAT POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FOR THEM AND FOR MODERATE OPINION  
IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. BEFORE THEY COULD BE ASKED TO  
MAKE STILL FURTHER CONCESSIONS, THEY MUST HAVE SOME GENUINE  
ASSURANCE THAT THE OTHER PARTIES WERE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE  
MEANINGFULLY.

2. WHILE PM VORSTER APPEARED ADAMANT ON GAZETTING THE APPOINTMENT AND FUNCTIONS OF A/G BY NO LATER THAN AUGUST 22, IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT THIS IS A PRESSURE TACTIC AND THERE IS ACTUALLY SOME GIVE IN THE SAG POSITION. ANY FLEXIBILITY WOULD, HOWEVER, BE CONTINGENT ON SOME REAL PROGRESS BEING MADE BY THE CG IN TALKS WITH SWAPO AND THE UNSYG OVER NEXT THREE WEEKS. IF THESE ARE PRODUCTIVE, I.E., THEY SHOW A WILLINGNESS TO BE REASONABLE IN NEGOTIATING THE KEY ISSUES, THE SAG WILL BE MORE AMENABLE TO A FURTHER DELAY. IF NOT, WE CAN EXPECT THE PM TO GO AHEAD LEAVING THE UN "TO CATCH UP", AS HE STATED. IF THERE IS NO UN MOVEMENT TOWARD APPOINTING A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER, THERE IS A STRONG RISK THAT VORSTER WILL GO AHEAD WITH HIS OWN PLANS BASED ON A TURNHALLE SOLUTION. FOR THE MOMENT, THE SAG IS STILL INTERESTED IN AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION BUT ITS PATIENCE IS BEGINNING TO WEAR THIN.

3. WITH REGARD TO AHTISAARI, THE ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY VORSTER AND BOTHA WERE WEAK AND UNCONVINCING. CLEARLY WHAT BOTHERS THEM IS HOW SUCH AN APPOINTMENT WOULD LOOK TO WHITES IN NAMIBIA AND TO A LESSER EXTENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. THEY DID NOT CONSULT ANYBODY ON JUDGE STEYN AND DO NOT EXPECT TO HAVE A VETO ON WHO THE UNSYG APPOINTS. AT NO TIME DID BOTHA OR VORSTER REJECT AHTISAARI. VORSTER GAVE AWAY HIS POSITION WHEN IN RESPONSE TO A DIRECT QUESTION HE ANSWERED THAT IF WALDHEIM WERE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESENT A PANEL OF NAMES AND FROM THOSE CHOSE AHTISAARI, THIS WOULD EASE HIS PUBLIC OPINION PROBLEM. VORSTER WAS UNWILLING TO SEND A SIGNAL INFORMALLY TO WALDHEIM NOW SAYING THAT HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO AHTISAARI.

4. VORSTER MAY BE SINCERE IN SAYING THAT HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO WITHDRAW SOME OF HIS TROOPS FROM NAMIBIA IF HE COULD BE SURE THAT SWAPO WOULD CEASE ARMED OPERATIONS. WE THOUGHT THAT IF HE WERE TO PREPARE A PLAN FOR PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES, CONDITIONED BY SUCH CAVEATS AS HE MIGHT WANT TO PLACE AT THIS STAGE, IT MIGHT HELP THE CG IN ITS AUGUST 8 MEETING WITH SWAPO TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING THAT WOULD DISPOSE THE SAG TO INITIATE THE WITHDRAWAL. VORSTER RULED THIS OUT. INSTEAD, HE SAID LET'S LEAVE IT THAT IF SWAPO EXPRESSES A WILLINGNESS TO CEASE MILITARY OPERATIONS, THEN WE CAN GO BACK TO THIS POINT. THERE IS SOME FLEXIBILITY HERE IF SWAPO CAN BE INDUCED TO MANIFEST THIS WILLINGNESS EVEN THOUGH THEY TOO PUT FORWARD CONDITIONS. THE TWO SIDES MAY BE SHOE-HORNED GRADUALLY INTO AN UNDERSTANDING THROUGH THIS APPROACH.

5. BOTHA IN HIS AGENDA INCLUDED A REFERENCE TO "THE ISSUE OF UN FORCES" BUT DID NOT BRING UP THE SUBJECT HIMSELF. WE

TESTED HIS REACTION TO THE GENERAL IDEA OF A PEACE-KEEPING  
FORCE. THIS WAS SKEPTICAL BUT NOT WHOLLY UNFAVORABLE. THE  
SUBJECT WAS NOT RAISED IN THE MEETING WITH THE PM, AND WE  
DOUBT THAT HE WOULD BE INCLINED TO SUPPORT IT. DEPENDING  
ON THE OUTCOME OF NEXT WEEK'S MEETING WITH SWAPO, THIS POSSI-  
BILITY COULD BE FURTHER EXPLORED. END TEXT.  
BOWDLER

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## Message Attributes

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